

TOBB Economics and Technology University
in cooperation with Humboldt University & Rakovski National Defence College & University of Macedonia & Vilnius Business College & Pisa University
ERASMUS Blended Intensive Program (BIP) Syllabus for 6 ECTS

ULU 540 International Relations of the Middle East

by Prof Dr Haldun YALÇINKAYA haldun@etu.edu.tr

Summer 2026

Online dates 27 April - 6 May 2026

In-person dates in Bodrum 10-16 May 2026

Paper Submission date 11 June 2026

This course will provide students with a comprehensive understanding of modern Middle Eastern politics. By looking at the critical historical turning points, as well as current developments and debates, the course aims to discuss the regional and international politics of the region. The course will focus on the Middle Eastern regional order, regional conflicts, alliances, wars, and peace-making as well as the state-society dynamics. The course will cover the Arab world, Iran, and Israel.

This course is mainly for International Relations, Political Science, and Middle Eastern Studies majors and students of Social Sciences. Yet, there is no prerequisite for the course and students with different backgrounds can take the course.

The course is at the Master's level yet undergraduate students with a GPA of 3.00 and above can take the course. PhD students are especially welcome as one-to-one office hours with lecturers can be arranged to discuss thesis work. All students must have sufficient English language level (B1).

A list of required and suggested readings will be provided for students. The course will also discuss and use examples of literature, documentaries, and movies within the context of regional developments.

Objectives

The objective of this course is to provide students with the analytical perspective and essential knowledge to understand the major actors, issues, and processes of Middle East politics. The course aims at supporting the students in their academic work and further their research projects and ideas.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course students will get acquainted with the major themes of Middle East politics which encompasses a broad spectrum of discussions including state formation, war and conflict, political economy, identity, authoritarianism, and democratization as well as foreign policies of regional and extra-regional actors in the making of the Middle East.

Content: Courses: 21 hours online and 21 hours in person

ONLINE SESSIONS (27 April – 6 May 2026)

Date	Readings Online Link for every day https://tobbetu-edu-tr.zoom.us/meeting/register/fJowSbUMRP2ApixhHbb6_A For Türkiye, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Greece: 7.30 PM – 11.00 PM For Germany, Italy,: 6.30 PM – 10.00 PM	Lecturer and Subjects
27 April 2026	General Framework for the Security of the Modern Middle East	Introduction TOBB ETU Bodrum Institute Prof. Dr. Haldun Yalçınkaya
28 April 2026	-Roger Owen, <i>State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East</i> , (3 rd Edition), (London: Routledge, 2004), Chapters 1, 2 and 3. -Simon Bromley, “The state-systems in the Middle East: Origins, Development and Prospects” (Chapter 26), in Youssef M. Choueiri (ed.), <i>A Companion to the History of the Modern Middle East</i> , (Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 504-532. -Raymond Hinnebusch, “State formation and international behaviour” (Chapter 4), <i>The International Politics of the Middle East</i> , Manchester University Press, 2001, 73-90.	From World War I until the 1950s: -Creation of the Modern Middle Eastern States -Making of the Middle East Regional Order Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriz Şen

<p>29 April 2026</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - James Gelvin, <i>The Modern Middle East: A History</i>, 3rd edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Chapters 14 and 18. (for general framework) -Avi Shlaim, <i>The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World</i> (London: Penguin Books, 2001), Chapters 1, 4 and 6. (to analyse Israeli strategic thinking and reassess the nature of Arab-Israeli wars) - Benny Morris, <i>The Righteous Victims</i> (London: Vintage, 2001), Chapters 2, 5, 6 and 7. (to examine empirical history of 1948 and debates over responsibility and displacement) -Adeed Dawisha, <i>Arab Nationalism in the 20th Century: From Triumph to Despair</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), Chapters 6, 7 and 10. (to understand the rise and decline of pan-Arabism as a regional ideology) -Fawaz Gerges, “The study of middle east International relations: a critique”. <i>British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. Bulletin</i>, 18(2), 208–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530199108705538. (to frame the Arab-Israeli conflict within the interplay of ideology, state interest and regional order) 	<p>From the 1950s until the 1970s:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The 1948 & 1967 Wars & The Suez Crisis -Ideologies in the Middle East Regional Order: Pan-Arabism <p>Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuğçe Ersoy Ceylan</p>
<p>30 April 2026</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Raymond Hinnebusch, “War and Order in the Regional System” (Chapter 7), <i>The International Politics of the Middle East</i>, 154-203. -Fred Halliday, “The Iranian Revolution in Comparative Perspective”, in <i>Islam and the Myth of Confrontation</i>, (London: IB Tauris,1996), 42-75. -Misagh Parsa, “State, Class, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution”, <i>Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East</i>, 29:1, 2009, 3-17. -Beverly Milton-Edwards, “Past, Present, and Future Politics: Islam” (Chapter 5), <i>Contemporary Politics in the Middle East</i>, 144-171. 	<p>Middle East in the 1970s: Issues of Revolution, War and Cold Peace</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Iranian Revolution & the rise Political Islam in Regional Politics -Camp David Process: The Egypt-Israel Peace -The Coming of the Oil Age: The shifts in the Gulf political economy <p>Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriş Şen</p>

<p>4 May 2026</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Muadth Malley, “The Lebanese Civil war and the Taif Accord”, <i>The History Teacher</i>, Nov. 2018, Vol. 52, No. 1, pp. 121-159. - Florence Guab, “Lebanese Civil War - Seven Lessons Learned forty years on”, European Union Institute for Security Studies, April 2015. - Efraim Karsh, “Geopolitical Determinism: The Origins of Iran-Iraq War”, <i>Middle East Journal</i>, Spring 1990, Vol. 44, No. 2. - Ray Tayekh, “The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment”, <i>Middle East Journal</i>, Summer 2010. 	<p>Middle East in the 1980s: War and Order</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lebanese Civil War -Iran-Iraq War and its implications for the Gulf <p>Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür</p>
<p>5 May 2026</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - William L. Cleveland, Martin Bunton, <i>A History of the Modern Middle East</i>, 2024, pp. 439-487. -Barnett, Michael N. <i>Dialogues in Arab Politics : Negotiations in Regional Order</i>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. -Telhami, Shibley, and Michael N. Barnett, eds. <i>Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East</i>. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002. -Halliday, F. (2005). <i>The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology</i> (The Contemporary Middle East, Vol. 4). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. -Thayer, Bradley A. <i>The Pax Americana and the Middle East: U.S. Grand Strategic Interests in the Region After September 11</i>. Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2003. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04283. 	<p>Post-Cold War Middle Regional Order</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Rise and Fall of Euphoria of Peace -Pax Americana and the Gulf Crisis (1990-1991) -Debates on the “globalizing Middle East” <p>Prof. Dr. Nur Köprülü</p>

<p>6 May 2026</p>	<p>-Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid, Baktiari, B., Barnett, M., Hegasy, S., & al, e., "The Impact of 9/11 on the Middle East". <i>Middle East Policy</i>, 9(4), 2002, 75-101.</p> <p>-Dalacoura, Katerina. "US democracy promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: a critique." <i>International affairs</i> 81.5 (2005): 963-979.</p> <p>-Gregory Gause III, "Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War", Brookings, 2014.</p> <p>- Morten Volbjorn, Andre Bank, "The New Arab Cold War: Rediscovering the Arab Dimension of the Middle East Regional Order", <i>Review of International Studies</i>, 2012.</p>	<p>"The New Middle East" - 9/11 and Beyond -2003 Iraq War -Discussion on Sectarianism in Regional Politics</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür</p>
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PHYSICAL MOBILITY (21 hours in Bodrum/Türkiye)

<p>10 May 2026</p>	<p>Arrivals</p>	
<p>11 May 2026</p>	<p>In-person</p>	<p>Meeting and Introduction</p> <p>The Arab Uprisings: A Quest for Change? -Comparative politics: Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan -Changes in regional power distribution/geopolitical implications: revolution vs. counter revolution</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Nur Köprülü Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriz Şen</p>

12 May 2026	In-person	Post-2020 Middle East: Normalization, War and Displacement -Abraham Accords -The Gaza War -Post-October 7 Middle East Regional Order Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuğçe Ersoy Ceylan
13 May 2026	In-person	From Deterrence to War: Iran and Israel After October 7 -Iranian Politics and Foreign Policy -Israeli Politics and Foreign Policy Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriz Şen Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuğçe Ersoy Ceylan
14 May 2026	In-person	US/Israel War on Iran -The War: Reasons and Trajectory -Regional and Global Actors in the War -Implications for the future of the regional order Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür Prof. Dr. Nur Köprülü Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuğçe Ersoy Ceylan Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriz Şen
15 May 2026	In-person	Issues of Global and Regional Security Prof. Dr. Haldun Yalçınkaya
16 May 2026		Departures
tbd		On-Demand Feedback Session for Final Exam Papers

Assessment

The assessment of the term is as follows:

Attendance	20%
Participation/Quiz exams/Homework	20%
Research Paper and Presentation	60%

Students who fail to fulfil ECTS requirements will be given a signed document showing their participation.

GUIDELINE FOR ULU540 FINAL ASSIGNMENT

For the Final Exam, each student will choose a subject on International Relations of the Middle East and, with approval of the subjects and, subsequently, the content by the lecturer, you will need to submit a research paper and a video recording of yourself presenting this paper. The research paper and presentation will constitute **60% of your total grade**. The submission date will be no later than **June 11, 2026**.

Research Paper

Once you choose your **main subject/week** from the syllabus of the International Relations of the Middle East you should decide on a unique **subtopic** of yours that is related to the chosen subject.

Word limit for the research paper is **1000 words (-250, +500)**. Additionally, a 100-word abstract and a bibliography are required. You should add at least 10 sources to the bibliography which must include at least 5 of them from required readings on the syllabus (you should use outside sources as well).

Academic writing rules must be followed strictly. Please follow the guidelines of the Journal of International Relations for academic writing and referencing.

The link to the guidelines: <https://www.ir-journal.com/for-authors/guidelines>

Presentation Video

Each student should submit a **5-7 minutes video recording** where you present your research. No PowerPoint is required, a **verbal** presentation is adequate.

Submission of the papers and video recordings

Please send your research papers and video recordings to the teaching assistant Utku's e-mail address {u.baran@etu.edu.tr} before the deadline.

Please edit your file names in **Surname_Name_Title** format.